

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 105

INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 5199

AF/E FOR AMBASSADOR SPAIN FROM CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TZ, US

SUBJECT: TANZANIA-US RELATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 263798 REPEATING USUN 5652;

(B) STATE 274831 REPEATING USUN 6109

1. REF A PARA 3 HIGHLIGHTED THE CONTINUING DILEMMA FACING US POLICYMAKERS WHEN THEY CONTEMPLATE TANZANIAN ACTIONS TOWARD US, IN THIS CASE AFTER A UNGA VOTE ON KOREA, IN THESE WORDS: "ONE OF OUR LARGEST AF AID PROGRAMS IN FOR TANZANIA, YET AMBASSADOR SALIM'S SPEECH WAS AN ANTI-US DIATRIBE. WE RECOMMEND THAT A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TWO ELEMENTS BE ESTABLISHED."

2. IN THE PAST THIS SEEMED TO BE ONE OF THOSE ANNOYING CONTRADICTIONS WITH WHICH WASHINGTON WAS PREPARED TO LIVE. HOWXER, REFTTEL SUGGESTS THAT THIS TOLERANCE MAY BE WEAKENING, AND THAT USG MAY CONSIDER MOVING TO CHANGE OR RESOLVE THIS SITUATION AFTER YOU ARRIVE HERE. I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER SOME OF THE FOLLOWING THOUGHTS IN ANY CONVERSATIONS YOU MAY HAVE ON THE SUBJECT.

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3. THE AID DIMENSION: TANGOV AND THE USG LOOK AT THEIR AID RELATIONSHIP AS THROUGH OPPOSITE ENDS OF A TELESCOPE. FROM THE US POINT OF VIEW, WE ARE GIVING GENEROUSLY (ONE OF OUR LARGEST AID PROGRAMS IN AFRICA), UNDER HIGHLY CONCESSIONAL TERMS, TO ONE OF THE WORLD'S POOREST COUNTRIES MM WE RECOGNIZE THAT TANZANIA PUTS THIS AID TO GOOD USE. FROM THE TANZANIAN POINT OF VIEW, THE US, THE WORLD'S RICHEST NATION, IS GIVING AID PARSIMONIOUSLY (SUBSTANTIALLY LESS THAN THAT OFFERED BY SOME MUCH SMALLER DONOR COUNTRIES), AND UNLIKE SOME OF THOSE COUNTRIES DOES NOT GIVE ALL ITS AID AS DIRECT GRANTS. MOREOVER, TANZANIA SHARES THE VIEW OF MANY OTHER DEVELOPING NATIONS THAT FOREIGN AID IS ONLY ITS JUST DUE, AS RECOMPENSE FOR THE EVILS OF COLONIALISM AND THE EXPLOITATION IT HAU SUFFERED FROM THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM RUN BY THE DEVELOPED NATIONS.

4. AID AND NON-ALIGNMENT: TANZANIA'S CONCEPT OF "NON-ALIGNMENT", WHICH IT HAS ADHERED TO SINCE INDEPENDENCE, IS THAT IT WILL ACCEPT ASSISTANCE FRO SANY NATION OFFERING TO FILL THE SUD NEEDS WHICH TANZANIA HAS MADE KNOWN. TANZANIA VIEWS ITSELF AS A VERY POOR COUNTRY MORALLY ENTITLED TO RELY ON EXTERNAL SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT WHICH IT DESPERATELY NEEDS. HOWEVER, THIS FOREIGN AID MUST HAVE NO RELATIONSHIP WHATEVER TO TANZANIA'S DOMESTIC POLICIES OR ITS POSITIONS ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS. TO ACCEPT THE SLIGHTEST SUGGESTION OF INFLUENCE BY AID DONORS WOULD, IN TANZANIAN EYES, FATALLY COMPROMISE ITS HARD WON INDEPENDENCE, AS WELL AS MAKE TANZANIA SUBJECT TO CONTINUOUS CONTRADICTORY DEMANDS BY DONORS. ACCORDINGLY, TANZANIA MAINTAINS THAT IT HAS ALWAYS REJECTED OUT OF HAND ANY SUGGESTION THAT ITS STANCE ON AN INTERNATIONAL MATTER COULD BE AFFECTED BY THE GIVING OR WITHHOLDING OF AID. PAST INTERRUPTIONS OF AID BY THE UK AND FRG, IN CONSEQUENCE OF TANGOV POLICIES, ARE CITED AS EVIDENCE OF TANZANIA'S MORAL PURITY AND WILLINGNESS TO FOREGO MATERIAL BENEFITS TO PRESERVE IT.

5. US ASSUMPTIONS: KNOWLEDGEABLE US POLICYMAKERS HAVE NEVER HAD ANY ILLUSIONS THAT OUR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE WOULD BUY TANZANIA'S UN VOTES OR LATER TANZANIAN POLICIES WHICH ARE BASICALLY ANTITHETICAL TO THE US. HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE HAS SOMETIMES BEEN THE HOPE THAT GRATITUDE FOR OUR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE EFFORT WOULD AT LEAST INDUCE TANGOV TO GIVE US A RESPECTFUL HEARING ON QUESTIONS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US. IMPLICIT IN THIS HAS BEEN THE THOUGHT THAT TANGOV MIGHT AT LEAST TONE DOWN SOME OF ITS MORE ABRASIVE RHETORIC ABOUT THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE ALSO NOTED THAT, AS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, A POLICY OF COMMUNICATION, BOLSTERED BY THE AID PROGRAM, MIGHT IN THE LONG

RUN LEAD TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN GOALS
AND POLICIES AND A MODIFICATION OF TANZANIAN POLICIES
WHICH WE CONSIDER UNJUST OR UNSOUND.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 5199

6. PRESENT SITUATION: THE US AID PROGRAM HAS QUADRUPLED IN THE LAST THREE YEARS. IN THE 190 ROLLCALL VOTES OF THE 1974 UNGA, TANZANIA VOTED DIRECTLY AGAINST THE US 52 TIMES, THE REST PRESUMABLY BEING MOTIONS TO ADJOURN FOR LUNCH. IN CONTRAST, TANZANIA VOTED AGAINST CHINA THREE TIMES AND THE USSR TEN TIMES, WE SUSPECT THE 1975 UNGA RECORD WILL BE SIMILAR, AND TANZANIAN INVECTIVE AGAINST THE US IN PUBLIC FORA HAS SHOWN NO SIGNS OF ABATING. TANGOV OFFICIALS SUGGEST TO US THAT THERE WILL BE EVEN LESS CONGRUENCE OF VIEWS WITH THE USG IN THE FUTURE, XEXSTHEY SEE NO DISCREPANCY BETWEEN TANZANIA'S "NON-ALIGNMENT", AND THEIR GENERAL ASSUMPTION THAT ON ANY INTERNATIONAL ISSUE THE LDC/COMMUNIST POSITION MUST BE RIGHT AND THE AMERICAN ONE WRONG.

7. THE REAL CHOICE: GIVEN TANZANIA'S CONSISTENT RECORD OF REJECTING ANY INFLUENCE BY AID DONOR GOVERNMENTS, WE CAN CONFIDENTLY PREDICT THAT ANY USG SUGGESTION THAT OUR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE IS WITHERING UNDER THE PRESSURE OF TANGOV SPEECHES AND VOTES IN NEW YORK CAN HAVE ONLY ONE RESULT. TANZANIA WILL REFUSE TO CHANGE EITHER ITS VOTES OR ITS RHETORIC, AND THE USG WILL THEN BE FACED WITH THE DECISION OF WHETHER

IN FACT TO DIMINISH OR DISCONTINUE ITS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
TO TANZANIA. IN RESPONSE TO OUR APPROACH, TANZANIA WOULD
PROCLAIMTATSELF A MARTYR TO NON-ALIGNED MORAL PRINCIPLES AND
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A VICTIM OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST PRESSURE.

8. THE REAL QUESTION: IT MAY THEREFORE BE BETTER
TO SEEK TO RESOLVE THE CONTRADICTION WHOLLY WITHIN THE
USG AND WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE TANZANIANS. ACCORDINGLY.
THE REAL QUESTION WITH WHICH THE USG MUST GRAPPLY MAY BE
AWKWARDLY POSED AS FOLLOWS: "DOES OUR INVESTMENT OF
ECONOMIC RESOURCES IN TANZANIA RECOMPENSE US,
WHETHYX IN TERMS OF HUMANITARIAN SATISFACTION AT HELPING
A POOR BUT PROUD NATION, OR IN HOPES OF INFLUENCE OVER
A VERY LONG TERM, SUFFICIENTLY TO OUTWEIGH THE OFFENSE TO
OUR SENSIBILITIES AND SELF RESPECT AT GIVING AID TO, AND
PRESUMPTIVELY STRENGTHENING, A GOVERNMENT WHICH REGULARLY
MAKES PUBLIC ITS DETESTATION OF OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM, OUR
ECONOMIC METHODSDN AND OUR INTERNATIONAL GOALS?"

9. AMBIVALENCE AT HOME: IN SEEKING TO RESOLVE THIS CONTRA-
DICTION, WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THE AMBIVALENCE OF AMERICAN
OFFICIAL, CONGRESSIONAL, ACADEMIC, BLACK COMMUNITY AND
POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARDS TANZANIA. AMERICANS INTERESTED
IN TANZANIA BUT SUFFICIENTLY FAR FROM THE SCENE TO BE ABLE
TO IGNORE FACTS INCONSISTENT WITH THEIR VIEWS OFTEN TAKE
VERY PARTISAN POSITIONS FOR OR AGAINST THIS COUNTRY.
SOME ACCEPT COMPLETELY NYERE'S RHETORIC OF BROTHERHOOD
AND SELF-RELIANCE AND SEE IN TANZANIA A UTOPIAN MODEL FOR
DEVELOPMENT WHICH SHOULD BE HELPED AND EMULATED. TO SUCH
PEOPLE, TANZANIA'S POSITIONS ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS
ARE IRRELEVANT. OTHERS, NOTING THAT TANZANIA'S "NON-
ALIGNMENT" IS VIRTUALLY INDISTINGUISHABLE IN ITS TREATMENT
OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES FROM THAT OF ALBANIA AND NORTH
KOREA, WOULD SIMPLY WRITE TANZANIA OFF AS AN UNIMPORTANT
OPPONENT OF THE UNITED STATES. NO USG POLICY TOWARDS
TANZANIA WE CAN THINK OF IS LIKELY TO SATISFY BOTH GROUPS
OF AMERICANS.
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